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THE
Lord Bishop of Salisbury's
New Preface
CONSIDER'D.

EVERY thing that comes from so great a Man as my Lord of Salisbury, must certainly be receiv'd with greediness; We are ready to devour whatever he writes, so strong is our Appetite for all his Works, and more especially at this time of Day, when his Lessons are so much wanted. The Admirable Preface to his Lordship's *Pastoral Care* has enlighten'd the Minds of Men, whom Party and Prejudice had blinded, and the Impotent Attacks of the Enemies of Truth have only serv'd to brighten his Lordships Triumph. It was not many Years since, that Our Gracious Sovereign was pleas'd in a most Solemn manner to declare She wou'd encourage none but those that were Friends to the Revolution, in which She her self

(2)
had so Glorious a Share: Yet with what Insolence
have the Friends of *France* vilify'd and ridicul'd
it; Since *France* has lifted up her Head and for-
gotten by whose Clemency and Moderation it
is that She is not now the most Distress'd and
Despicable Nation in *Europe*? She and all that
are in her Interest will for ever do their utmost
to blacken and insult an Enterprize that has
prov'd so fatal to her Ambitious Projects;
From that Quarter it is that the Friends to the
Government and the Succession, as settled by
Law, meet with so much Disturbance, and by their
Advocates are all the Arguments for the Abdi-
cation of King *James*, render'd Criminal as well
as Impertinent. My Lord Bishop having late-
ly publish'd a New Volume of Sermons, I
could not read over the Incomparable Preface
to them without adding to it these and the fol-
lowing Considerations.

Since after more than Four and Twenty Years, the
Lawfulness of the Revolution is not only brought un-
der Debate, but is openly arraign'd by some, and feebly
justified by others, while many are plainly endeavour-
ing to undermine and over-turn it. Those who
were much concern'd and deeply engag'd in that
great Transaction, seem to be, as it were, call'd on to
review that whole Matter, with the Share that they
themselves had in it; and to see upon the most Se-
rious Reflections, what Judgment they ought to pass
upon it. I am not ashamed nor afraid to own, that
I had a Full Knowledge of the whole Progress of it,
and that I had all the Share in it that my Capacity
and Station did admit of.

I desire to remember also some others who had a share, tho' not an equal one, in that Revolution which deliver'd us from *Idolatry* and *Tyranny*; as the Earl of Bath, the Earl of Abington, the Earl of Northampton, the Earl of Danby, the Lord Eland, the Lord Dunblain, the Earl of Peterborough, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Argyle. I will also remember some who were in Arms against it, as the Earl of Arran, the Lord Dartmouth, &c. it being as necessary to refresh our Memories with the Names of our Enemies, as of our Friends, that we may know whom to avoid, as well as whom to trust. His Lordship proceeds:

Revolution Principles are now represented in such *Odious Colours*, that I think such *Declamations* as have been made upon them, by Persons who are too Young to have been able to observe how Matters then went; and yet have taken up *Prejudices* too implicitly, upon some receiv'd Notions, without giving themselves the Trouble of Examining Critically how Matters stood; These, I say, I think ought to be check'd in time, without that *Asperity of Words* which they may affect, but with all the Force of True Reasoning.

I will therefore state the Thing Historically, and then leave it to every Reader to pass such a Judgment, as a clear View of it will lead him to make.

The Insolent Writers of the *Rehearsal* and the *Examiner*, who know not what True Reasoning is, or never practis'd what they knew, may learn from this Pious Temper of his Lordship, to leave off that *Asperity of Words*, so ill becom-

(4)
ing their Profession, but so well adapted to their Cause, which cannot be supported but by Falshood and Insolence. What Effect this Moderation will have on one of 'em, the Examiner, how his Language will be softened, and his Reasoning mended, will, I doubt not, be soon seen on this very Occasion; the Right Reverend Author having been all his Life-time the Mark of the Malice and Ribaldry of the Enemies to our Church and Constitution.

In the Year 1673. the Famous Act of the Test was pass'd, by which all Men in the Offices enumerated in it, were requir'd within a Limited Time, to receive the Sacrament in a Parish-Church, and to take the Test, renouncing Transubstantiation in a Publick Court; and if they did not thus Qualifie themselves, and yet went on Executing their Offices, they were put under an Incapacity, the Importance of which, as all Lawyers agree, is, that whatsoever they shou'd act after that, was Null and Void of it self: They were also lyable to a Fine, of which no Part was to go to the Crown; so carefully was this Act Penn'd, that the King shou'd be bound by it, and not be able to break through it.

By this Test, Sir Thomas Clifford, one of the Cabal, and a Prime Minister, lost all his Places, and the Duke of York himself, had much ado to keep his Footing at Court; but thought it was pretended only to answer its Title, *An Act for preventing Danger which may happen from Popish Recusants*, yet it was turn'd chiefly against Protestant Dissenters. It is remarkable, that Alderman Love, that very Year made a
Speech

Speech in the House of Commons, complaining of King Charles the II^d's dispensing with the Laws for Liberty of Conscience, which tho' it flatter'd some of the Weaker Dissenters, the Wiser Sort, of which was Mr. Love, were against a Liberty, they must share with the Papists, who were indeed excluded by that Act from Employments, but with them were also effectually all Protestant Dissenters incapacitated from holding them.

Soon after King James came to the Crown, upon the Duke of Monmouth's Invasion, he gave Commissions to many Papists to serve in the Army; which in such a Juncture was gently ensur'd: But when that Rebellion was soon dissipated, and the Time came, limited by Law, for their Qualifying themselves, they continu'd to execute their Commissions, without any regard to the Law: Nor had the just Sense that the House of Commons express'd upon this open Breach of Law, any other Effect, but to get the Session to be dismiss'd with a Prorogation. A Mock Suit was soon after that carried on in the King's Bench, against one that had thus neglected to Qualifie himself; and after much Practice on that Court, and many Removes made in it, they came to a Decision, that all the Laws were the King's Laws; and that the Execution of the Law was only in the King, who was not accountable to any Person for that.

Before the King's Bench and other Benches were sufficiently corrupted, to make this Decision, the Courtiers secretly examin'd the Judges Opinions, and did not venture upon it till

till they were sure of carrying it. When Sir Thomas Jones was closetted, and the King told him, He wou'd get Twelve Judges that shou'd do what he desir'd of him: Sir Thomas reply'd, His Majesty might get Twelve Judges, but he wou'd never have Twelve Lawyers.

After this, in April 1687. the King set out a Declaration, in shew only, suspending that Law, but in effect repealing; these Words being a part of it, That these (the Tests) shall not at any time hereafter be requir'd to be taken or subscrib'd by any Person whatsoever. Upon this, follow'd an Open Violation of that Law. Many indeed still took the Tests: But all those who intended to Merit and pretended to Favour at Court, went on in this Contempt of the Law. Some Judges, many Sheriffs, and Magistrates complying with the Designs of the Court, put themselves under those Incapacities; so that there were Nullities in every Part of the Administration. This shook all Private Rights; Judgments given by such Judges were Void, so were all Writs executed by such Sheriffs. Nor could a Parliament be Legally Summon'd or return'd by such Officers.

This was an open and avow'd Subversion of our Constitution. The Essence of which is, that the Legislature is in the King with the Two Houses of Parliament; and the Execution of Laws so made is in the Crown. If then a King instead of Executing those Laws, will repeal them at his Pleasure, the Government is entirely alter'd, in the most Essential Part of it. And by the same Authority that the King repealed those Laws relating to Religion,

he

he might by another Declaration repeal all Laws relating to Liberty and Property; for the Authority of Laws is the same in all Points, and the Prerogative, if extended to reach to Laws of one sort, may be applied equally to all. And yet so inflexibly did the King pursue this Point, that in the Year 1688, he renewed his Declaration, with this Addition, of requiring all the Clergy to read it in their Churches.

We all remember the Ferment the Nation was put into, by the Imprisonment of the Seven Bishops, for Petitioning against that Injunction; They being sent to the Tower, by a Warrant of Council sign'd by several Popish Lords, and some that call'd themselves of the Church of England, as the Earl of Mulgrave, now D. of B. the Lord Preston, &c. And we ought never to forget that Sir Thomas Powis was one of those who were Council against them, and that he was not slack in the Prosecutions: The Clergy of England generally refus'd to read that Declaration. In the Bishoprick of Durham, indeed the Example of the Bishop went a great way in directing them. In other Diocesses, they answer'd the Character given of them by the Bishop of Rochester, in his Letter to the Earl of Dorset. 'Twill be sufficient, says he, to affirm once for all, that the main Body of those who made so brave a Stand, were all of the Church of England, and the Principles on which they stood, were all Church of England Principles. I doubt not the main Body of our Church will be always ready to make another such Bold Stand, when She is in the same Danger She then was, out of which the Prince of Orange so happily deliver'd Her.

Many

Many other Breaches of Law might be instanc'd, besides the Capital One, such as the Ecclesiastical Commission, set up in the Face of a Law made expressly against it: The Proceedings against Magdalen College, by which a great Body were turn'd out of their Freeholds plainly against Law. An open Treaty was set on Foot with Rome, an Ambassador was sent thither, and a Nantio was receiv'd here, which was Treason by Law. Popish Bishops and Priests were sent openly about the Kingdom, and a Jesuit was a Privy Counsellor; which were plain and publick Evidences of a Design to change our Religion, and to destroy our Church. These were all likewise great Invasions of Law; but they did not seem to amount to such an open Subversion of our Constitution, as the Declaration did, and therefore till that came out, I thought Particular Illegal Proceedings were to be submitted to, rather than we should venture an open Breach. But the Declaration, when twice repeated, so that it appear'd the Court was resolv'd to pursue it, seem'd to me to strike at all, and to alter our whole Constitution

Our Government is a Legal one; the King's Authority is founded on Law. No Man is prosecuted or punish'd, but for the Violation of some Law. It is the Law that directs the Succession to the Crown. In France and Germany the Heir Male only can succeed: Among us it goes to the Heir General. Thus a Subversion of Law, is the destroying that on which the King's Authority is founded, and by which it is maintain'd: So the turning a Legal Government into an Arbitrary one, did put the Subject to such Straits, that they saw they

*they must either be Slaves, or try how their Liberties
cou'd be preserv'd.*

It is of use to call Persons to mind as well as Things, and to see who they were that had a Part in the Ecclesiastical Commission, as the Earl of *Rochester*, the Bishop of *Rochester*, the Earl of *Mulgrave*, the Bishop of *Durham*. As for *Jefferies*, *Jenner*, and the other Commissioners, People will not be surpriz'd to find their Names in any bad Business, so contrary to the Interest of the Church and Nation, so I shall not trouble them with a List of 'em. His Lordship gives here a very just Account of the Extent of Legal Obedience, and shews that Subjects are not on every slight Occasion to think themselves discharg'd of their Allegiance. In my Lord's Speech on the Affair of *Sacheverel*, is something said to the same Purpose. ' In ' Summer 1686, the Prince of *Orange* was pleas'd to receive me into his Service with particular Confidence. Soon after the Ecclesiastical Commission was set up, and upon some Proceedings before that Board, he was desired from *England*, to break with King *James* upon that Head. I oppos'd this, and said I was convinc'd that Commission was against Law, and wou'd have ill Effects, but it did not strike at the whole. This was more warmly press'd upon the Proceedings against *Magdalen Colledge*. I still stood my Ground, and told both Prince and Princess, that if a Breach shou'd follow on these Matters, I cou'd not serve. When indeed the Declaration was publish'd a second time, with a Resolution

' solution to have it carried through, and that
 ' many Laws were dispenc'd with at Pleasure,
 ' and Persons who were under Legal Disabili-
 ' ties, were made Judges, Sheriffs and Magi-
 ' strates, all whose Actions were so many Nul-
 ' lities : Then I thought here was a total Sub-
 ' version of our Constitution, which from being
 ' a Legal one, was made Precarious, subject to
 ' mere Will and Pleasure. So I was ready to
 ' serve in the Revolution." Pray mind that
 several of the Highest Church-Men had been be-
 fore-hand with the Prince and Princess of O-
 range, and were more hasty in their Endeavours
 to bring about the *Revolution*, than this Lear-
 ned Prelate, whose Prudent Zeal was always
 acted by Reason and Religion, and not by Pas-
 sion or Interest.

*The Authority of Parents over their Children, is
 the Original of all Governments, as founded on the
 Clearest Title of conveying Life and Being to them,
 yet if a Father goes to destroy his Children without
 a Just Cause, if he is in the State of Nature, out of
 Government, or if in Government, on any Account
 whatsoever, certainly by his attempt to destroy that
 Life, the Conveyance of which to them, was the
 Foundation of his Authority over them, he releases
 them from all Obligations to submit to his Cruelty ;
 and they are at Liberty to see to their own Preserva-
 tion. The Case is stronger in Subjects, who are un-
 der no Natural Tye, but only a Legal One, to their
 Prince ; so the annulling the Authority of Law,
 is indeed the destroying or subverting that, upon
 which only their Obligation to Obedience and Sub-
 mission is founded.*

Upon

Upon these Reasons, I thought it was Lawful for the Prince of Orange to come over, and Protect and Secure Us, and to maintain our Laws; he being earnestly called on by Men of all Ranks and Sorts, who saw our Laws trod on, and our Constitution subverted; and look'd on him as the only Person that cou'd save us.

I will not mention the late Dukes of *Norfolk Bolton* and *Devonshire*; they were Men of known Affection to Liberty, and therefore rank'd with *Republicans*; Neither will I make use of any Questionable Authority, I mean such as may be suppos'd to speak well of the *Revolution*, out of Love to the Country that was sav'd by it. *Father Orleans*, in his History written by direction of the late King *James*, assures us, that the very Bishops who were imprison'd by that King, and who afterwards were depriv'd for their Obstinacy, in refusing the Oaths to King *William*, did Invite the Prince of Orange over, who cou'd not well have come hither without an Army, and who cou'd not bring an Army of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* Men. These very Bishops I say were those who *Earnestly call'd* on the Prince to Protect them, tho' out of Cowardice or a worse Cause, they left him, when he had done that which they wanted him for; and had not his Late Majesty's Glorious Expedition been Crown'd with Success, those Bishops wou'd have stood on the very same Foot with my Lord of *Sarum*: He who invites an Army over, being as Guilty, if there is Guilt in it, as He who comes with it.

Other Things concurr'd that made it Lawful for the States to assist Him with their Forces. The Earl of Castlemain, the King's Ambassador at Rome, push'd the Pope, and the Patron Cardinal Cibo, to admit the King to mediate a Reconciliation between the Courts of Rome and Versailles; and said, When that was brought about, the Two Kings wou'd effectually serve the Cause of the Church; and begin with the Destruction of Holland. This the Pope told to the Head of the Imperial Faction at Rome, who wrote it to the Emperor; and the Emperor wrote it to the Prince of Orange. If it is thought that this is too remote, the Matter was made more Evident, when, during the Vacancy of the Sees of Colen and Liege, Cardinal Fusternberg, who was the Guardian of the Temporalities of those Sees, brought French Garrisons into Bonne and Liege, and into all the other Places belonging to the Arch-Bishoprick of Colen. Thus the Two Rivers of the Rhine and Maes, which are the Chief Securities of the States, and by the former of which, the King of France had Invaded, and almost ruin'd them in the Year 1672, were possess'd by French Forces; and at the same time the King of France, though he had Two Years before Concluded a Truce of Twenty Years with the Empire, thought fit to break it, and to begin the War with the Siege of Philipsburgh: So the States saw a War with France unavoidable; and it being generally believ'd, that France and England were engag'd in a strict Alliance, it was free to them to begin the War, where they hop'd the Enemy was weakest. It is true, the Alliance was for some time deny'd, but at last it was own'd by the French Ambassador, in a Memorial that he gave into the States,

States, upon the Reports of their Design to Invade England; in which he told them, that the Alliance between his Master and the King of England was such, that he must look on what shou'd be attempted against him, as done against himself.

The Success of Castlemain's Embassy at Rome was a Jest to all Europe; it was commonly said, that Coll. Sydney, afterwards Earl of Romney, was then there on the behalf of the Confederate Interest, which Pope Innocent the XIth heartily espous'd, and that he had access to the Pope's Cabinet, when Castlemain was in the Anti-Chamber. Whether it be so or not, 'tis well known that after a Pompous, Expensive Embassy, all he got from the Pope was a little good Advice, when he took his Audience of Leave, that he shou'd not Travel in the Heat of the Day. However upon his being neglected at Court, after his Return, the Pope was so kind as to write to King James to give him a Place, and Father Petre's had form'd a Plot to remove Jefferys to put the Commissioners of the Treasury into a Commission for the Great Seal, and to make Castlemain Lord Treasurer, which by the Queen and the Lord Sunderland's Management was prevented. As to what his Lordship says of the French King's breaking the Peace in 1688, and invading the Empire, it was happy for us he took that Step, for instead of besieging Philipsburgh, had he sent an Army into the Netherlands, the Dutch wou'd not have ventur'd their Fleet and Army to assist the Prince of Orange; and if the People of England cou'd not have defended their own Liberty, they must have been Slaves, for no Body

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dy else wou'd have come to defend them. The Alliance between King Charles and Lewis the XIth, and between the French King and King James, is fully made out, in a Book call'd *The Secret History of Europe in Two Parts*, lately publish'd.

This was a Solemn Act, by which the Alliance was own'd and publish'd. It is true, the Court of England did seem displeas'd with their Envoy; he was recall'd, and sent to the Tower; but that appear'd to be only a Shew of Displeasure; for in a few Days from being a Prisoner, he was made the Lieutenant of the Tower. Perhaps his Importunity in getting the Alliance to be own'd, was beyond his Instructions: But no Importunities whatsoever cou'd have prevail'd to get it to be own'd, if it was not really made. Such an Authentick Declaration it gave the States a Right both to believe it, and to act upon it, as they found it convenient.

Having thus shew'd what Reason this Nation had to conclude, that the Court had resolv'd on, and had begun a Total Subversion of our Constitution and Legislation; upon which they call'd on the Prince of Orange as nearly concern'd both in the immediate Right of his Princess, and in his own more remote one, to come and preserve our Constitution. And having shew'd what Right the States had to make War upon England, I might proceed; but before I go further in this Relation, I will mention the Extraordinary Providences of God that appear'd in our Passage to England.

Since I read the before-mention'd *Secret History*, I have met with another Proof of the
Private

Private League between King *James* and the French King, in a Book written by a French Man, and publish'd in the Year 1698. 'Tis call'd, *Annales de la Cour & de Paris*, and contains abundance of Curious Things, among which is this Expression, speaking of King *James*. *Ce Prince s etant montre ferme dans L'Alliance Secrette qu'il avoit contractee avec le Roy.* That Prince shewing himself to be firm in the Secret Alliance he had contracted with the King; which Alliance was doubtless to destroy the Protestant Religion and the Liberties of Europe. As the Prince of Orange was a Sovereign Prince and was injur'd by King *James* in the Succession to the Crown, he had himself a Right to make War upon him, and what Right the People of England had to join with him, to preserve their Constitution, I shall take from the best Authority in the World, the Principles and Practices of the Clergy of this City, who in their Address to Her Majesty, upon the Change in the Administration, said they had *withstood* and wou'd again *withstand*. Now I am satisfy'd they wou'd not have done it, unless they cou'd have justify'd it: And as for the Difference between *withstanding* and *resisting*, I shall not fall out with them about it. *Withstand* will at any time do the Business, as well as *resist*, if they are as good as their Words. What follows is very Curious, and will, I doubt not, be read with uncommon Pleasure.

We set out first on the 19th of October in fair Weather; but next Day, we had a most violent Storm, with which we struggled Three Days, in no small

Small Danger, considering the great number of the Ships of War and Transport. After three Days we came into Port, without the Loss of any one Vessel, and but of one Man. Ten Days after that we had a more prosperous Navigation. The late Duke of Leeds, and other Lords, who had press'd the Prince most to this Undertaking, mov'd for his Landing in the Mouth of the Humber. This was oppos'd by all the Seamen, but insisted on with so positive a vehemence from England, that the Prince resolv'd to comply with it. A strong East Wind made this impracticable; so we sail'd into the Channel, designing to land at Dartmouth, or in Torbay: But a strong Gale, and a bold Pilot, carry'd us beyond those Ports; and on the Fifth of November, when Day-light shew'd us the Coast, we saw our Danger, and apprehended we might be forced to Sail on to Falmouth, which gave us a very melancholly Prospect: But in the Minute, in which we saw this Danger, the Wind turn'd to the South, and with a soft Gale carry'd us into Torbay, and we happen'd to land at the most convenient Place, for landing a Body of Horse, that perhaps is to be found round the whole Island; so that in Three Hours Time, above 7000 Horses were Landed, and the Dispatch was such, that the Day after we came into Torbay, we were in full March by One a Clock.

The Storm which his Lordship makes mention of, was improv'd to the Advantage of the Cause, Orders were given to the *Harlem* and *Amsterdam* Gazetteers, to make a dreadful Representation of the Loss, which had its effect upon our Credulous Court, and slacken'd them
in

in their Preparations. While the Prince's Friends, who knew the Truth of the Matter, went chearfully on with theirs to meet him. Had he Landed at the *Humber*, the late Duke of *Leeds* was ready to have receiv'd him into *Tork*, which he seiz'd, and if that was not Resistance with a witness, I know not what the Word means.

Now our Fleet was secur'd, and well cover'd from West Winds, which did blow out the next Night into such a Storm, that the Lord Dartmouth, who was following us with the King's Fleet, and if he had come up, would very probably have destroy'd our Fleet, where our Artillery, Arms, and Ammunition did still lye: He, I say, was so stopp'd by these Westerly Winds, that in Conclusion he was shatter'd by them so, that he cou'd keep out at Sea no longer, but was forced to go into *Pottsmouth*.

These signal Turns of the Wind in the Critical Minutes as we wanted them, made a great Impression on all who observ'd them. And tho' happy Providences alone, are not to be look'd on as certain Evidences of God's Favour, yet when one is assur'd the Cause is Just and Good, he may well look on them as the special Blessings of Heaven.

I thought it not unfit to set this out so particularly, because on many other Occasions I have reflected on it in general Words, and now the Reader may see what ground there was for such Reflections.

I was ever in this of his Lordship's Opinion, looking on it as a special Providence, that the Lord Dartmouth did not come up with

the King's Fleet. For I never thought that Lord cou'd wish the Liberty of *England* so well as to run the hazard of the Displeasure of a Court that rais'd him, for giving into all their measures against it, tho' there were some so Charitable to him, as to hope he would not have fought the Prince's Fleet, had he come up with it. I confess it is matter of Question, whether his Officers and Seamen wou'd have join'd heartily with him in it, or whether he wou'd not have been soundly beaten had he attempted it, the Prince having a better Fleet than his was, but the Man's Disposition was doubtless good, to do his utmost to destroy the Ships in *Torbay*, or any where else, if he cou'd have come at them. 'Twas no Thanks to him that the *English* Fleet had not fallen on the *Dutch* at their Entrance into the Channel; the Wind being at *E. N. E.* and he cou'd not get out from the *Buoy in the Nore*; I thought fit to clear this Lord's Memory from the Imputation of having contributed in any wise to the Revolution either *Actively* or *Passively*, and as he was no Friend to the Prince of *Orange* before he was King, so neither was he after, for he wou'd never take the Oaths to him.

I pass over the whole Progress of our March, and come now to set out King James's Conduct, that indeed amazed all the World. When he saw the Turn the Nation was making, and the disjointings of his own Troops and in his own Court: He sent Three Lords to the Prince at Hungerford, to ask him what he demanded. To this the Prince by the advice of the Lords who had come into him answer'd,
That

That he desir'd the Law might take Place every where; that a Free Parliament might be call'd; that no Army shou'd come within 30 Miles of London; and that a Branch of the Revenue might be set off to Pay his Troops. These were immediately sent to the King; who when he read them, said, They were better than he expected. But now I must open a Scene that will show what sort of People Popish Priests, and a Jesuit at the Head of them, are.

They all saw that nothing cou'd save King James in a Free Parliament, but the Total delivering up of Popery, and the passing such Acts, as should be most effectual Bars to the return of Popery among us: So they who resolv'd to Sacrifice the King and every Thing else, rather than see their Designs entirely blasted; studied first to fright the Queen with the apprehensions of somewhat dismal, that she her self, and her Pretended Son, might look for: They also press'd the King, with the Sense of the Dishonour that he must undergo in submitting to the hard Terms that wou'd be impos'd on him: And to both they did so magnifie the Power and the Zeal of the French King, that that unhappy Prince came to be persuaded, that it was better to fly to him, than to stay at home, and submit, as they call'd it, to a Victorious Prince, and an offended Parliament.

The Three Lords whom King James sent to Hungerford, were the Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Nottingham, and the Lord Godolphin. The Prince was then at Littlecot, from whence he sent the Answer to the Proposals of those Lords from the King; but 'tis plain his Majesty design'd that Message only for an Amusement,

he having come to a Resolution to send away his Queen and her Pretended Son to France, and himself to follow after. He commanded the Writs that had been order'd to be Issud out for a Parliament to be burnt: The Queen was gone before the Prince's Answer came back, and he himself before the Lords return'd. The Lord Doyer said when the King was at Salisbury, That it wou'd not be long before he wou'd leave England. It being the Advice the Catholicks sent him from London. The Letter the late Queen Mary wrote the French King from Calais, shows what an Idea the Papists had given him of his Power and Generosity. It beginning thus,
 ' Sir, A Fugitive Queen, bathed in her
 ' Tears, has willingly expos'd her self to the
 ' great Danger of the Sea, to seek the Conso-
 ' lation and enjoy the Protection of the greatest
 ' and most generous Monarch on the Earth,
 and ending thus,

' In the midst of her Misfortunes she shall
 ' take Pleasure in living under the shadow of
 ' the Lawrels of a Prince, who exceeds all that
 ' ever was Great and Eminent in the World,

In this they succeeded so well, that the Queen and her Pretended Son went over, and then the King: tho' by the Demands of the Prince, which he receiv'd the Night before, he saw on what Terms he might be safe; Yet he came to that Ignominious Resolution of flying away next Morning in Disguise: And having order'd the great Seal to be left with him the Night before; that was thrown as he pass'd the Thames, into the River; which being the great Instrument that sets all things a going in this Government;

government; the Throwing it away in such a manner, seem'd to shew a Resolution to Govern no more by Law, if he shou'd return, but by the Sword. He also abandon'd all his Friends to the Fury of the Mob, and the Nation to the Violences of the Army, which he order'd to be Disbanded, without paying their Arrears.

The 3d of May 1689. the Seal was found in the battom of the Thames by a Fisher-man, in a red Bag, between Lambeth and Fox-hall, and presented to King William. It is suppos'd the Queen carry'd away the Great Seal with Her, for she crost over to Lambeth when she went away. The Lord Jefferys who had sent him the Seal was taken disguis'd like a Seaman at Wapping, and never was Man in greater Peril, or more afraid of being torn in Pieces. When King James went away to return no more, the Late Duke of Hamilton, then Earl of Arran, was one of his Attendants. 'Tis said the Occasion of the Prince of Orange's ordering the Earl of Feversham to be confin'd in Windsor Castle, was for his irregular disbanding the Army; which was, follow'd with great Tumults, and particularly a general Allarm in one Night all over the Kingdom.

This was a True, a Design'd, and an unforc'd Desertion of the Government, and an exposing the Nation to all the Mischief that he cou'd throw it into. All Things were by the Princes Demands to be referr'd to a Parliament, which he himself seem'd to desire. The Power of the Militia, the Fleet, the Forts and the Army, with the Revenue, were still left in his Hands, this Inglorious Escape occasion'd the Accident at Feversham ;

Reverſham; but yet upon his Return to White-Hall, no mention was made of calling a Parliament.

The Prince was then at Windſor, when the News of that was brought him; and upon that, he ask'd the Opinions of the Lords about him. Some, who afterwards engag'd violently in the Jacobite Intereſt, advis'd the ſending the King over to Holland a Priſoner, and the keeping him in the Caſtle of Breda, till the War both in England and Ireland was at an End. I wou'd name Perſons, for the Prince himſelf nam'd them to me. But I intend only to ſet out the Truth of that Tranſaction without ſevere Reſtoretions. His answer was, That tho' he could appear againſt the King at the Head of an Army in this Quarrel; yet now that he had him in his Power, he cou'd not put him under any Reſtraint; and he knew the Princeſs cou'd never enjoy her ſelf if any ſuch thing was done. So he reject'd theſe Suggeſtions with Indignation, and indeed with an Averſion to thoſe who made them.

'Tis pity Methinks, his Lordſhip's great Charity and Moderation ſhou'd hinder us from knowing who were the Men that advis'd this Inſolence to the King's Perſon; I doubt not but we ſhall find them, or as many of them as are living to be Zealous Aſſertors of the Divine Indefeasible Rights of Princes; the Sanctity of the Perſons of Kings, the unlimited unconditional Obedience due to them, and all the contradictory Doctrines ſince advanc'd by them. I wiſh I had a liſt of their Names. I hope it is not to be for ever a Secret, that we might ſee how exactly their Principles and Practices agree, and from thence form a Judgment of our own Under-

Understandings, to be impos'd upon by their Preerences to Loyalty. That Proposal against King James, was not the only one King William rejected. When he first came into England he understood in his March that some hot Men, perhaps no good Friends to Monarchy, began to talk of proceeding personally against King James; he presently desir'd the Man who acquainted him with it, to find out who they were that held such Impious Discourse, for he wou'd suffer none of them to stay about him: And when afterwards in the Irish War a very feasible Project was mention'd to him for siezing King James aboard a Man of War, which was to desert to him for that purpose, he scorn'd it, and gave those that spoke of it to him, to understand, he wou'd hear of nothing but what was to be done by the fair way of Arms. The same Men who gave advice for his imprisoning King James, advis'd him also to cause his Army to Proclaim Him King, which wou'd effectually have hinder'd his Error being so; for the People of England would never have submitted to a Military Monarchy, and it was doubtless with that View that these Jacobite Counsellors gave him such ill Counsel. His Lordship is still speaking of King James's withdrawing himself, and the Princes Proceedings upon it.

But it was judg'd necessary, that he shou'd come quickly to London; and to avoid all Quarrels, that there shou'd be no Guards about Court, but those of one sort: So a Message was sent to the King, desiring him to withdraw to some House near London: Ham was nam'd, as being very near; but the King choosing rather to go back to Rochester,

he was left at full Liberty to do what he pleas'd : And the Guards that attended on him, had positive Orders to restrain him in no sort, to hinder none from coming to him, and to Obey him in every thing. All his Protestant Friends press'd him to stay, and to Summon a Parliament, assuring him that there was then a great Turn in the Minds of the City and of the English Army ; and that Pity and Compassion for him, prevail'd then generally ; which was in a good Measure true : But he still adher'd to his First Resolution, which in a few Days he Executed in a Second Escape.

The Lords whom the Prince of Orange sent to King James, to desire him to remove to Ham, were the Marquis of Hallifax, the present Duke of Shrewsbury, and the Lord Delamere. The King was a Bed, and as soon as he read their Message, it being a written one, He said, he wou'd comply with it. But he afterwards chang'd his Mind, and instead of Ham, chose Rochester for the Place of his Retreat, with a plain View of escaping to France. It was impossible for him to have stay'd and flood a Free Parliament, without satisfying the Prince and Nation, as to the Imposture of the Pretender ; and that was impossible for a Prince of his Bigotry to do. If you will believe Father Orleans, his Return to London from Feversham, where he was taken in his First Attempt to leave the Kingdom, was like a Triumph, the People rending the Air with their loud Acclamations of Joy. I was my self a Witness of it, and have seen a greater Mob round a pitiful Bonfire. What the Pity of an Injur'd Nation wou'd have produc'd, had he

he referr'd himself to a Parliament, I cannot pretend to determine. But I do not think the Convention was compos'd of Members, whose Compassion wou'd have done the Protestant Interest any Disservice.

Here was Desertion upon Desertion; and now the Nation was either to continue in an unsettled State, or to call him back, and throw all up to him, and be at Mercy: Or they were to consider how to arrive at a Settlement, as near the Constitution as was possible.

Those who either adher'd secretly to him, or were entangled with some receiv'd Opinions, propos'd a Regency with the Regal Power, leaving the Title and Dignity of the King in him. But as this cou'd not be legally done, unless the Act for it were past by King, Lords, and Commons, which in this Case cou'd not be expected; so if the Oath of Allegiance was still continued, by which all his Power and Authority was to be maintain'd, as well as a Titular Dignity; here was an open Mockery, not without an Impious Profanation, to swear to a Prince who was to be divested of his Authority; and if any Person shou'd be brought to suffer for acting against the Regent, tho' done by the King's Warrant, and on Design to serve him, yet he was to be Try'd for compassing the Death of the King; of which, no Consciencious Jury cou'd find such Person Guilty, so it was plain whosoever shou'd be Regent, must be in a Perpetual Struggle with the King, with whom the Legal Authority was still to remain.

The Late Duke of *Leeds* was in the Chair when the Debate rose about the Vacancy of the Throne, and stickled for it mightily; the Earl of *Nottingham* spoke as much for the Regency, and when the Question was put, whether it shou'd be a King or a Regent, it was carry'd for the former by Three Votes only; the Bishops of *London* and *Winchester* were the only Two Prelates that Voted for a King. The Admirable Debates about the Abdication being in every ones Hands, I shall not enter into that matter; it is sufficient to observe, that those who oppos'd the making the Prince of *Orange* King, were very ready to get into Places, when he was King, and by their double Dealing, they always were a hindrance to his Affairs, keeping up that Faction which is still so troublesome to us.

This being such an insecure and illegal Frame, it seem'd a much more Natural Way of settling the Nation, to shew that the King by his Proceedings had violated the Constitution in many Particulars, some of which were of the Essence of it; and by his Obstinate adhering to these, his refusing to grant legal Remedies in Parliament, and withdrawing himself out of the Kingdom, he had Abdicated the Government, and left the Throne vacant, upon which it was both just and necessary for the Nation to secure it self, and yet to depart as little as was possible from the Constitution.

The

The Throne being actually Vacant by King *James's* deserting it, what Reason cou'd hinder the Prince from accepting what was his Right, when offer'd him by the Convention of the States of the Kingdom? Who (when the Throne is actually Vacant, and it is not clear whose Right it is,) are, and have always been, the Sole Proper Judges to determine to whom it belongs; whose Judgments must give a Legal Right, because all Legal Rights are held by no other Tenure than the Decree of the Supreme Judges. I wonder why we in *England*, shou'd make so much ado about altering or interrupting the Succession. Of all our Kings, from the *Norman Invasion*, the better half came to the Crown, contrary to the Doctrine of the *Divine Unalienable Right*. *William* the Second, put by his Brother *Robert*, so did *Henry* the First. *Stephen* set aside *Maud* the Empress, King *John* did the same by his Nephew. *Edward* the III^d outed his Father, *Edward* the II^d, *Henry* the IVth, oblig'd *Richard* the II^d, to Abdicate *Henry* the Vth, and *Henry* the VIth kept Possession of the Throne from the House of *Mortimer*, whose Right it was by Inheritance. *Edward* the IVth remov'd *Henry* the VIth, *Richard* the III^d serv'd his Nephew *Edward* the Vth after the same Rate. *Henry* the VIIth wou'd never own his Wife's Title, and so on. Yet we forsooth, of all the Nations in *Europe*, are wonderfully offended that King *James* shou'd also be laid by, and King *William* Seated in his Throne; so contrary are our Principles to our Practices.

It is true, some lay the main Stress of their Censure upon a great Failure in the Proceedings at that time, since no Enquiry was made into the Birth of the Pretender. But the whole Nation, as well as the next Heirs of the Crown, having by the strange management of that Affair, conceiv'd great and reasonable Jealousies of an Imposture in it; the Prince of Orange did by his Declaration, refer the Enquiry into it to a Parliament. The King upon that, did by his sending the Pretender with the Queen out of the Kingdom, together with all those who were more immediately concern'd in that Supposed Birth, make it impossible to Examine into it. Besides, if a Subversion of the Constitution and a Desertion, rather than that the King wou'd come to Just and Legal Remedies, gave the Nation a Right to preserve it self, that must give likewise a Power to secure it from the Desperate After-Game of relapsing into the like State, and of falling under severe Revenges for their Asserting their Laws and Liberties; which might justly be apprehended in that Case, even if there had been the greatest Evidence possible of an Uncontested Birth.

If People were of my Mind, there had never been half so many Words made about the Pretender. I don't care whether he is the Son of King James or the Son of a Tyler. We had a good King and Queen in King William and Queen Mary; we have a good Queen in our present Sovereign, they all had a good Title, The Parlimentary one, and why shou'd I trouble my self about who has any other, or who pretends to it? As for the Imposture of the Pretender, no thinking Man can question it;
the

the Kingdom were Jealous of it from the first Rumour of the Conception Queen *Mary* and her Creatures knew it, and yet they cou'd not so contrive Matters but every Step they took confirm'd thole Jealousies. Had she been deliver'd at *Cheapside Conduit*, yet running away as she did with her Off-spring, and he being bred up in an inveterate Enmity to our Religion and Government, are sufficient to warrant our keeping him out, as well as his Fathers Male Administration, warranted our doing as we did by him. As to enquiring into his Birth, every one knows the Delicacy of such Enquiries, and how cautious Princes in Possession are of having their Titles question'd. The Parliament had given King *William* all the Right a Deserted Nation had to dispose of and to take care of themselves. *Henry VII.* had more Titles to the Crown than ever any Prince had; he had the Divine Right in behalf of his Wife, that of Conquest in the Victory at *Bosworth*, that of Election in the Voice of the Army, upon which he assum'd the Royal Dignity, that of *Lancaster*, in Right of his Mother, and another not worth much now, indeed, but then not without Force, that of the Church in the Donation of the Pope; yet he wou'd not suffer any State Casuists to determine which he ought to prefer, tho' himself seem'd to set the least Value on what we now stand upon most, that of Inheritance in his Wife's Right.

Thus was the Revolution brought about, and these are the Revolution Principles, against which some take Liberties to declaim so zealously; tho' these

these are all so many Overt Acts of a Conspiracy to deprive the Queen of Her Crown and Dignity, which is founded on Acts past upon it; and tend to Arraign Her Majesty, for the noble Part that she acted in the Revolution, when she march'd with an Army about Her, Commanded by the Lord Bishop of London. Revolution Principles cannot justify Resistance, but when the Provocations given by the Government are such as were then given by King James.

Sir Simon Harcourt, in his Speech at the Tryal of Dr. Sacheverel, says, ' There is nothing further from our Hearts, nor is any Thing less necessary to the Doctor's Defence, than for us to Dispute or call in Question the Justice of the Revolution; we are so far from it, that we look on our selves to be arguing for it, whilst we are endeavouring to shew your Lordships, that the Resistance used at the Revolution, is not inconsistent with the Doctrine of the Church of England, and with the Law of England, &c.' And again, ' I began this Discourse, relating to the Doctrine of our Church, and the Laws of the Land, with the most sincere Protestation, that it was far from my Intention to offer any thing inconsistent with the Justice of the Revolution; I think the Justice of it Consistent with our Laws, &c.' To this I shall add a Paragraph of Mr. Phipps's Speech on the same Occasion. ' We agree with the Managers that his late Majesty, when Prince of Orange, did with an armed Force undertake a glorious Enterprize for delivering this Kingdom from
' Popery

' Popery and Slavery. We admit, that divers
 ' Subjects well affected to their Country joined
 ' with and assisted him in that Enterprize;
 ' and that the Enterprize being crown'd with
 ' Success, the late Happy *Revolution* took Ef-
 ' fect, and was Establish'd. We also admit
 ' that the Blessed Consequences of the *Revo-*
 ' *lution* are, the Enjoyment of our Religion
 ' and Laws, the Preservation of Her Majesty's
 ' Person, the many Advantages arising by Her
 ' Majesty's Wife and Glorious Administration,
 ' the Prospect of Happiness to future Ages,
 ' by the Settlement of the Succession, and the
 ' Union of the Two Kingdoms, &c.' Yet this
 is the Revolution so Ridicul'd and Villify'd by
Lesley and the *Examiner*. These are the Revo-
 lution Principles which have made that sorry
 Figure in some late Addresses. Good God!
 What will be the End of this Frenzy? And
 how mad will all the World take us to be to
 suffer a Contention about the Justice of that
 Revolution, which was so necessary, and was
 attended with so many Blessings?

*I shall dwell no longer on this Subject, into which
 I wou'd not have engag'd so far, if the Unaccount-
 table Indolence of some, and the Unconquerable Per-
 verseness of others, had not made it seem necessary
 to me, to state this Matter once more in a True
 Light. I go next to give an Account of the fol-
 lowing Sermons that I do now Publish.*

*I begin with the First Fast-Sermon that was
 Preach'd before King William and Queen Mary;
 in which I Studied to Discharge my Duty, with
 such Fidelity and Freedom, that some oppos'd the
 Order*

Ordering it to be Printed, as containing in it some Bold Strokes that ought not to be encourag'd by a Court. Yet I found by the King and Queen's Behaviour to me, that I had lost none of their Favour by it.

That Excellent Sermon is so full of the True Spirit of the Gospel, that 'tis impossible to read it, without feeling some of those Emotions with which the Right Reverend Preacher was Inspir'd. ' We have at present, says his Lordship, ' a reviving and a lightning before us, which ' must either be the Beginning of all the Happiness, or of all the Misery which we can either wish for, or fear. If this is not carried to Perfection, but turns Abortive, we have nothing to look for, but all that is Terrible and Dismal; even to be deliver'd up to be a Prey, to Two of the Barbarouset and Cruellest Nations that are on the Face of the Earth. It is not so long since the last Massacre of Ireland, that we can forget all that Scene of Blood and Horror which was then acted: And for the French, they are letting us see every Day, by the unheard of Burnings and Desolations, with which even those of their own Religion, are plagu'd by them, that it seems to be the Last and Terriblest of all the Temporal Judgments that can fall on a Nation, to be deliver'd up into their Hands.

The second was prepar'd by the late Queen's Order, who sent me the Text, for a Thanksgiving Sermon, after that Glorious Victory before La Hogue. I first obey'd Her Majesty's Order; but then humbly
repre-

represented to Her, That I having Preach'd the Two Thanksgiving Sermons in the two preceding Tears, it wou'd look as if no Body else was willing to perform that Office, if it was still laid on me. The Queen saw how Reasonable this was, and order'd the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury to Preach on that Occasion: So this Sermon, tho' prepar'd, was not Preach'd; but since it did lye by me, I thought it not improper to revive the Memory of that Great Action, and to Celebrate the due Praises of the Noble Admiral that Conducted it.

The greatness of the Blessing in that Memorable Victory, is best seen in the Dreadful Consequences which wou'd have attended our Overthrow. ' Our Enemies says his Lordship, ' reckon'd on us as a Prey to them; the Hearts ' of our Friends were generally sinking. The ' treacherous Betrayers of their Country and ' Religion among us, began without Disguise, ' to shew their Joy: We were like to fall into ' a Convulsion, that must either have shaken ' and broken us all to Pieces, or at least put us ' into such Violent Commotions, that much of ' our Country must have been wasted, and many of our Cities laid in Ashes, which perhaps ' had been the Fate of this Great City, after it ' had been exhausted by Spoil and Plunders; ' Those Cruel Men, who cou'd not be restrain'd from Violences towards those, under ' whose Protection, and in whose Power they ' were, wou'd have little regarded the Feeble ' Restraints, that must have been put upon them, ' by such as had some Tenderness left. An Army of Rapparees let loose upon the Nation,

' was the Deliverance that some, who yet have
' the Face to call themselves *English Men* and
' *Protestants*, had prepar'd for us, &c.

The Third Sermon was the First that was Preached before the Queen upon Her Accession to the Throne, it falling then to be my Turn to Preach that Sunday in time of Lent.

The Fourth Sermon was Preach'd in the Year 1683, upon a great Person's wavering in Religion, who afterwards turn'd Papist. I was desir'd to go to the Root of Popery, in the plainest, but the deepest manner I cou'd. A Copy of the Sermon was afterwards got from me; so it being now in other Hands, I thought fit to Print it my self: For there is perhaps, as much Occasion given for such a Sermon now, as there might be then.

Lesly's Project to reconcile the Church of England to that of France, is not one of the most bare-fac'd Schemes that a certain Faction has offer'd in favour of Popery. Whatever they do in Favour of France and the Pretender, is of course in favour of Popery; and every thing said against the Revolution, is of course for the Pretender. How much of that kind we have been frightned with lately, I need not mention here. One Writer has the Impudence to tell you, The Hereditary Right is too tough to bend to an Act of Parliament. Another publishes a Jus Sacrum, undoing all that was done in the Abdication of King James, and consequently upbraiding us with Injustice to his pretended Son. Yet the Clamour is not against these, but against those that have a good Word for the
Dutch,

Dutch, that assisted us to rescue our selves from Popery, and for the House of *Hanover*, whose Succession gives us the Happy Prospect of securing our Religion to our Posterity. 'Tis impossible for a True *English* Heart, not to Bleed at the following Story. A most Illustrious Patriot butcher'd for his Zeal for the preservation of our Church and Liberty.

*The Fifth and Sixth Sermons were preach'd to the Lord Ruffel in Newgate, the Day before he Suffer'd. I had been with him Four whole Afternoons before that ; for he desir'd to be alone till Twelve of the Clock. From that Conversation I was naturally led to most of the Meditations that are in them. He did all that while possess his Soul with so clear a Serenity, in such a Calm and Christian manner, that I still reckon it a particular Happiness, as well as an Honour that I attended then upon him. Before I preach'd these Sermons, he received the Sacrament from Dr. Tillotson's Hands. When the Office was ended, he shew'd us the Paper he had prepared for his last Words. We had some Discourse with him about the Lawfulness of Consultations in order to Resistance, in the State in which Things were then. He thought the Violence used in the matter of the Sheriffs of London, shew'd a Design to Destroy such Men as the Court thought stood in their Way, of which he was among the First ; he pray'd God he might be the last. We thought that was indeed an unjustifiable Action: But till a total subversion came, we still thought it was unlawful to Resist. He said, It would be then too late. He had all his Life long had other Notions of the *English* Government ; but*

he wou'd not then enter into further Debates upon these Matters. He spent the rest of the Day till towards the Evening in Devotion. Then his Children and Friends came to him. He spoke to his Children in a way suited to their Age, with a good measure of Chearfulness, and took leave of his Friends in so calm a manner, as surpriz'd them all. The parting with his Lady was not so easie to him: She stay'd with him all Day, and till Eleven at Night; then they parted in a solemn grave silence: Upon which when she was gone, he said to me, The Bitterness of Death is now past; and he ran out into a Discourse of Her, which she well deserved. But he was willing to be diverted to other Thoughts: for he felt a tenderness that began to melt him too much. I could not restrain myself from giving in this Place a free vent to the Honour and Justice I must even pay to the Memory of that Great and Good Man.

The Blood of this truly Christian Heroe cry'd aloud for Vengeance, and Vengeance follow'd those that were the spillers of it in their Exile and Poverty. All the Pity due to the Misfortunes of a Prince living on the Charity of his Neighbours, vanishes when one Reads this Horrid Tragedy, and considers that one of the best Lives in Britain perish'd by a State Murder. As the Parliament very justly term'd it, in the Act of the Repeal of his Attainder: Whoever has a mind to see by what Arbitrary and Illegal Practices this Noble Lord fell, let him Read Sir John Hawles's Remarks on his Tryal. I cannot here omit a very Generous act of Friendship in the late Duke of Devonshire, who

who offer'd to attempt to rescue the Lord *Rassel* as he was carrying to the Scaffold; but his Lordship would not consent to it. Tho' considering the Dispositions of the People at that Time, the Enterprize was not impracticable. My Lord of *Sarum* has in this and other places of this Preface, so fully Explain'd his Sentiments of Resistance, and clear'd them from the malicious Cavils of his and our Country's Enemies, that if they were capable of Modesty, they wou'd hereafter be silent, and asham'd of their Malice and Insolence.

The Seventh Sermon was preach'd at Salisbury, several Deaths coming one after another; and on Conclusion, Mr. Young, Dean of Salisbury, dying upon Two Days Sickness, I upon that preached on Death; The Sermon was heard with great Attention, not without some Emotion; so I join it to the rest. And this is all I think fit to say in a Preface.

What Follows is the most seasonable Part of it, and shews his Lordship's Pious Concern for the Safety of our Religion and Liberty. A Concern a Rampant Faction cannot lessen or divert, so suitable to all the other Parts of his Lordship's Life, that has been so long employ'd in doing good, and for doing it, has been so ill rewarded:

I wish the true stating of Matters as they stood at the Revolution, may have the desired Effect on Well-dispos'd Minds: As for those whose Prejudices have too deep a Root to be easily remov'd,
I

I pray God bring them to a better Sense of Things, before it is too late. It will be but a Melancholly After-game, when Men by their Folly have brought Ruin on themselves, and their Country, to say, Who could have thought it? When it is plain that nothing else could have been look'd for. But if we must be ruin'd by the Treachery of some, and the Folly of others. The Will of the Lord be done.

FINIS.



